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Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/cp/7883>

DOI: 10.4000/cp.7883

ISSN: 2183-2269

Publisher

Escola Superior de Comunicação Social

Printed version

Date of publication: 31 December 2008

Number of pages: 73-94

ISBN: 1646-1479

ISSN: 16461479

Electronic reference

Norman Fairclough, « Mediation in new labour's modernization of government: a critical discourse analysis perspective », *Comunicação Pública* [Online], Vol.3 nº 6 | 2008, Online since 30 September 2020, connection on 05 December 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cp/7883> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/cp.7883>

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1. Mediation

- 1 The concept of 'mediation' is tied to overcoming distance in communication, communicating with 'distant others'. Mediation is associated with 'time- -space distanciation', the 'detachment of a symbolic form from its context of production' and its 're-embedding in new contexts which may be located at different times and places' (Thompson 1995: 21). Modern forms of telecommunication (the telegraph and telephone, then radio, television, and then the internet) have resulted in the 'uncoupling of space and time' (Thompson 1995: 32), in the sense that communication with 'distant others' is no longer subject to the delays resulting from the need to physically transport symbolic forms (eg letters or printed material). Changes in information and communication technologies and the emergence of new media have vastly expanded the possibilities for overcoming distance in communication, making possible instantaneous communication over unlimited distances at little cost, and they are generally regarded as a crucial element of contemporary processes of globalization.
- 2 But the concept of 'mediation' also includes the notion of communication through a *medium* which has specific properties which affect the nature of the communication, which intervenes in the process of communication. Specific media have both particular technical properties which constitute possibilities or 'allowances' and constraints for communication – an obvious example is that television is a visual as well as auditory medium whereas radio isn't, so television allows communication which is multi-modal. But that is not all. Specific media also develop sets of 'semiotic codes, conventions,

formats and production values' which use the technical possibilities in conventionalized ways, and which affect for instance in the case of television strategies of camera work, narrative strategies, genres, modes of address and so forth (Tomlinson 1999:155).

- 3 If we further see mediation as 'the movement of meaning from one text to another, from one discourse to another, from one event to another' as Silverstone (1999) suggests, then this involves 'a constant transformation of meanings' which is shaped by the specific properties of the medium or media employed (Silverstone 1999). For instance, when events are reported in news narratives, their form and meaning is transformed according to the genre conventions of news narratives (van Ginneken 1998). We can see this is in the terminology of critical discourse analysis as a case of 'recontextualization'.
- 4 There are a number of issues here. First, as meanings move from text to text, they are open to transformation. Meanings do not simply 'circulate' unchanged between texts, movement of meanings involves both continuity and change and how much continuity and how much change is contingent upon the nature of the events and texts that mediated meanings move into. Second, this movement may be between texts, discourses and events within the social field of 'the media', or between texts, discourses and events within 'the media' and within other social fields such as politics or social spheres such as the 'lifeworld', ordinary life outside systems and institutions. Third, mediated meanings enter processes of meaning-making in these various fields and spheres as part of the resources for meaning-making. As Tomlinson (1999) puts it in discussing 'deterritorialization', people's experience is now a complex mixture of unmediated and mediated experience which enhances their resources for agency in changed circumstances. Re-sources for meaning-making combine mediated and unmediated experiences and meanings. Moreover, these resources for meaning-making are both specific and general, concrete and abstract – they include for instance both concrete representations of specific events such as the US/UK invasion of Iraq in particular news reports, and regular and durable ways of representing such events ('discourses' in the sense in which I shall introduce that term below). Fourth, we might say that what differentiates media texts from other sorts of texts is that media texts are specialised for moving meanings and resources for meaning-making between texts, and between different social practices, fields, domains and scales of social life.
- 5 As I said, mediation can be regarded in CDA as recontextualization. The category of 'recontextualization' originated outside CDA in sociology, specifically Basil Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (Bernstein 1990). It was itself recontextualized within CDA and made a category of CDA by being worked into relationships with existing CDA categories – 'genre', 'genre chain' and 'discourse' (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). The general understanding of 'recontextualization' is that representations, actions and identities – and in more abstract terms discourses, genres and styles – are moved from one context (practice, field or sphere) to another and in the process are transformed according to particular 'recontextualizing principles' associated with the new context. For example, when physics becomes school physics, it is transformed according to principles associated with particular pedagogies – that was the sort of case Bernstein was concerned with. In Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) we argue that recontextualization is a dialectic of colonisation and appropriation – thus when meanings in political texts are recontextualized in media texts, there is both a sense in

which politics colonizes media, and a sense in which media appropriate politics, transforming political meanings in accordance with media logics. To anticipate the example I will discuss, when politicians introduce a new set of policies for social welfare, the recontextualization of policy documents and speeches in news reports involves transformation into news narratives which are characteristically compressed into headlines – such as in this cases *Frank Field launches new contract for welfare*. Such media texts are themselves recontextualized in other fields and spheres according to their particular recontextualizing principles, implying for instance that they don't merely colonize areas of ordinary experience and living but are appropriated within them, so that media effects become as is well known complex matters to work out.

- 6 We need to add that recontextualization is managed, or rather subject to attempts at management. In the case of recontextualization from politics and government to the media, the process is managed both within media organizations and within organizations of politics and government. The phenomenon of 'media spin' which has received so much critical attention in the case of New Labour in Britain is a feature of attempts in government organizations to manage processes of recontextualization. Moreover, in the case of New Labour we have a government which has been committed to 'reinventing' or 'modernizing' government, and the changes in political management of mediation which have been so widely commented on and criticized under the label of 'media spin' can be seen as a part of the project of 'reinventing' government.

2. Critical discourse analysis

- 7 Let me now give a summary account of the version of critical discourse analysis which I am using.
- 8 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed as a response to the traditional disciplinary divide between linguistics, with its expertise in the 'micro' analysis of texts and interactions, and other areas of social science such as sociology, with expertise in exploring more 'macro' issues of social structure, practice and change. The challenge CDA has raised for linguists is what the empirical linguistic analysis of patterns in talk and writing can potentially contribute to, for instance, sociological questions and claims about social and institutional Discourses and social change. The challenge it has addressed to sociologists is how their claims about social Discourses and social change can be grounded in the actual empirical analysis of language in use.
- 9 In contrast with many branches of linguistics which define their research questions within their own discipline, CDA typically takes up social scientific questions and claims about social or institutional change, and explores how these changes may be taking place at the level of texts and interactive events. Or, to put the point in more general terms: CDA explores how discourse figures in relation to other social elements in processes of social or institutional change. In the version of CDA I now work with, the relationship between dis-course and other social elements is seen as a dialectical relation.

- 10 CDA can be briefly characterized as follows (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 1992, 2003, 2006; Fairclough, Jessop & Sayer 2004):
- It starts from social scientific questions, seeking to rework them as questions partly about discourse (for example, questions about 'public space' are in part questions about forms of dialogue).
 - It is used in conjunction with other methods, such as ethnography and political economy, to address such social research themes.
 - It aims to show specifically how discourse (language, semiosis – 'texts' of all kinds) figures in social processes, social change, in dialectical relations with other elements of the social.
 - It is *critical* in the sense that it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social life, including power/domination, and in ideology; and point to possibilities for change.
 - It works in a 'transdisciplinary' not just 'interdisciplinary' (or even 'postdisciplinary') way: it aims to develop theoretically and methodologically in dialogue with other areas of social theory and research.
- 11 This version of CDA offers a way of conceptualising social and institutional practices in terms of three dimensions. These are designed deliberately to conceptualise the more sociological concepts of Representation (and often now Discourse), Action and Identity in terms which can be explored empirically through repertoires of linguistic (in conjunction with non-linguistic) analysis.
- DISCOURSES: ways of *REPRESENTING* or better *CONSTRUCTING* the world from particular perspectives – e.g. ways of constructing social welfare, the government, the public, processes of public participation, etc
 - GENRES: ways of *ACTING* and *INTERACTING* with other people, in speech or writing or in the multi-modal forms of media combining language and image etc – e.g. news reports, interviews, letters, press releases, and so on which enact, produce, reproduce or counter particular kinds of social relations.
 - STYLES: ways of *IDENTIFYING*, constructing or enunciating the self, including both social and institutional identities – e.g. styles of journalism (ways of being a journalist).
- 12 Fundamental to the concepts of Discourse, Genre and Style is the dialectical relationship between concrete individual events and more abstract (relatively durable and stable) social practices. Within this dialectic, individual texts and events instantiate, juxtapose and creatively negotiate practices, while these practices are cumulatively developed, maintained, modified and challenged by individual texts and events. 'Texts' is used in a general way for the discourse dimension of events, 'order of discourse' for the discourse dimension of social practices. An order of discourse is a relatively stable articulation of genres, discourses and styles – eg the order of discourse of television, or of a particular channel.
- 13 CDA is a resource for tracing relations between processes and relations and patterns in text and talk, and wider social (economic, political, legal etc) relations and processes and practices and structures. It is a resource for setting up dialogue between analysts of text and talk (conversation, interaction) and sociological, political etc theorists and analysts. It attempts to work in a transdisciplinary rather than a purely interdisciplinary way, working with categories and concepts in various areas of social theory and research to develop ways of analysing text and talk which are informed by these categories and concepts, and formulating questions and perspectives from social

theory and research in ways which elucidate their specifically linguistic/semiotic aspects.

- Intertextuality, interdiscursivity, recontextualization
- Operationalization (enactment, inculcation, materialization)
- CDA and 'cultural political economy'

3. New labour's 'reinvention of government'

- 'Reinventing government': 'meta-governance', 'the governance of governance' (Jessop 2002)
- Designing forms of governance includes mixing modes: hierarchy, markets, networks ('governance')
- Initiatives to modernize governance are associated with changes in the state to harmonize with economic changes (neo-liberalism, knowledge-based economy)
- Includes wider involvement of 'stakeholders' in 'joined-up' governance, 'partnerships, 'networks' etc

14 Contradictions in NL Modernization of Government?

- Decentralizing: 'devolution', 'partnerships' 'stakeholders', 'participation' etc
- Centralizing: audits, media spin etc
- 'Dispersal' of government entails transformation but not abandon-ment of central control
- Eg government as 'changing culture' > centralized management of language

4. Media Spin

- 15 New Labour governments during Tony Blair's time as Prime Minister (1997-2007) have been criticized in Britain and abroad for various things, perhaps most obviously for taking Britain into the Iraq War, but excessive 'spin' on the part of its 'spin doctors' has been a continuing complaint. That takes us directly to the relationship between politics and media under New Labour. There was for instance a crisis as early as 1998 when one of the main architects of New Labour Peter Mandelson was forced to resign from the government because of alleged financial misdeeds, and complaints about 'spin' were noisily aired then. John Prescott, the Deputy PM, said in an interview in *The Independent* 'we need to get away from rhetoric and back to the substance of government'. *The Independent's* headline was 'Prescott bins the spin for real policies'.
- 16 'Spin', 'spin control' and 'spin doctor' seem to have emerged in their me-dia-political sense in the early 1980s in the USA, originating in the idiomatic expression 'spin a yarn', meaning tell a story, usually an unbelievable one, which is a metaphorical use of spinning 'yarn', spinning thread. There is also 'putting a spin on' a ball in games like cricket, tennis and billiards. 'Spin' is basically seeking to manage public and media 'messages' about the government, its policies etc to ensure they are presented in ways which are beneficial to government.
- 17 'Spin' came to public prominence in Britain with the first 'New Labour' government elected in 1997 (though 'spin' in this sense obviously existed long before New Labour, if in less closely managed forms), and was associated especially with Tony Blair's Official Spokesman (later Director of Communications and Strategy) Alistair Campbell, a journalist who became arguably the most influential of Blair's advisers, and was called by some critics the 'real Deputy Prime Minister'. There are many stories about his

influence and power, perhaps the most famous being his involvement in producing in 2003 the so-called 'dodgy dossier' on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction which was part of the government's attempts to legitimize British involvement in the Iraq War.

- 18 Stuart Hall (2003) claims that spin is 'not a surface excrescence, as many critics fondly suppose. 'Spin' has the obvious purpose of putting a favourable gloss on everything. ... It is a sign of the reduction of politics to public relations and the manipulation of public opinion. But 'spin' also has the much deeper function of 'squaring circles': representing a broadly neo-liberal project, favourable to the global interests of corporate capital and the rich, in such a way that it can mobilise the popular consent of Labour voters and supporters, the trades unions and the less-well-off in society. This sleight-of-hand can only be done by continuously sliding one agenda into or underneath another. The New Labour phenomenon of linguistic slippage is thus a function of its double-pronged mode of address. It spins the word 'reform', with its positive associations until it somehow becomes equivalent to its absolute opposite – marketisation! It masks the consistent shift of direction from public to private, by exploiting the vagaries of words like 'change' – or 'radical' – which can point in any direction. Choice, which is designed to introduce selectivity and the private sector, is represented as part of an anti-inequality strategy. 'Spin' mobilises a concept's positive resonances – and transfers this charge to a very different, usually contrary, idea'.
- 19 What Hall is indicating here is what he calls New Labour's 'double-shuffle': it is 'hybrid regime', it 'speaks with forked tongue. It combines economic neo-liberalism with a commitment to 'active government' and a ... subaltern programme, of a more social-democratic kind, running alongside. ... However, one strand – the neo-liberal – is in the dominant position. The other strand – the social democratic – is subordinate'. Moreover, what appears more social-democratic is constantly being transformed into a neo-liberal, marketized and managerialist form.
- 20 But, as I have suggested, apart from the balancing of dominant and subaltern policy objectives which Hall mentions, the prominence of spin would seem to be explicable in terms of how New Labour seeks to govern, and how it tries to modernize government.

5. Shifts in the field of government as shifts in the order of discourse

- 21 – Field of government: (shifting) network of social practices + order of discourse – articulation of genres, discourses, styles.
- 22 – 'Reinvention of government': shifts in the field of government = shifts between government and other fields (business, media, voluntary work etc), which transform government
- 23 – 'Inside' transformed through relations to its 'outside'.
- 24 – Shifts in the order of discourse: genres, discourses and styles of government.
- 25 – Changes in the genres of government
- 'focus groups' incorporated + articulated with conventional genres;
 - media genres eg press release or features written by politicians more prominent, in new relation with conventional genres;
 - mainstream genres eg 'Green Paper' changed by more 'managerial' practices in government

- 26 – Changes in political discourses – discourse of the ‘Third Way’ (neo-liberal + social democratic discourses)
- 27 – Changes in political/governmental styles, eg leadership style of Blair

6. ‘Reform’ of social welfare

- 28 One of the major commitments of the ‘New’ Labour government elected first in 1997 was the ‘reform’ of the welfare state. I use scare quotes for ‘reform’ to indicate that it is a contentious representation of what the Government is doing – for instance in the words of an Observer editorial (14 February 1999) an ‘anodyne’ term which represents as ‘neutral, technological and essentially benign’ what can otherwise be represented as ‘the salami slicing of welfare benefits’ and ‘the rebasing of the welfare state around means-testing rather than universalism and income redistribution’. The Government argues that ‘reform’ is necessary because the system is increasingly expensive yet ineffective in relieving poverty and ‘tackling’ social exclusion, and encourages a ‘dependence’ on welfare amongst people who could work. Welfare state reform in Britain is in many ways analogous to reforms underway elsewhere – the US shift from welfare to ‘workfare’ for instance is widely recognised as having been a model for New Labour, and there are similar attempts at reform in other EU countries.
- 29 Welfare reform is a major process which has extended over a number of years. I shall focus on just one point in that process, the publication of the so-called ‘Green Paper’ on welfare reform in 1998, and especially the press release on the occasion of its publication. A Green Paper in the British system is a consultative document in which the Government sets out options and its own position and solicits public discussion. It is a preliminary to legislation. The welfare Green Paper (entitled ‘New Ambitions for Our Country: a New Contract for Welfare’) was published in March 1998. This particular point in the reform process itself involves a network of practices, and in its textual moment a network of genres, discourses and styles.

6.1. Generic chaining

- 30 The production of effects within the field of government depends upon the constituent practices articulated together (networked) within it being ‘chained’ together in particular ways. For instance, there are two practices whose positioning in these chains seems to be regarded by commentators as distinctive for government under New Labour. The first is ‘experiments in democracy’ (Giddens 1998) such as using focus groups and citizens’ juries. One view of the function of such experiments is in testing reactions to government initiatives as part of a wider strategy for managing consent. The strategic location of these legitimizing exercises in the chaining of practices is important. So too is the location of enhanced forms of media management which have been critically referred to as ‘government by media «spin»’ (Franklin 1998), which can be seen as part of the shift towards ‘cultural governance’ (which entails a preoccupation with representations and the control of representations). One feature of New Labour noted by commentators such as Franklin is that every move by government appears to come with a prepared media strategy, implying a chain structure punctuated by media-oriented practices.

- 31 We can see this in terms of what I have called 'genre chains', ie the regular sequential ordering of different genres. We find generic chains of the following general form in the welfare reform process:.... speech <press release> – (media reports) – document <press release> – (media reports) – speech <press release>... That is, a document such as the Green Paper on welfare reform is likely to be prepared for and followed up by speeches on the part of important ministers, but each of these (like the document itself) comes with its own press release (systematically incorporating a media 'spin' – see below on this term), and each subsequent move in the chain is responsive to media reactions to earlier moves. On occasion press conferences will also figure in such chains.
- 32 The press release for the Green Paper on welfare reform is reproduced in the appendix. This is a 'boundary' genre which links the fields of government and media, and it is apparently a combination of two genres: a media genre – a press report, with the familiar beginning of headline + lead; and a government (administrative) genre – a set of background notes. There is hybridity or mixture between the two: notice the date and reference number between the headline and lead paragraphs. The 'report' is also a resource for producing reports, and includes important elements of that resource – key principles of the Green Paper, key quotes from Field and Blair. It is in a sense an official summary, but a summary which selects and orders what it summarizes with a partly promotional intent. In this respect too the 'report' hybridizes media and governmental genres. It is a sort of 'transitional' genre. We can say that hybridity of the press release as a genre arises from its positioning in a genre chain.
- 33 The process of *summarizing* is crucially important not only in press releases but throughout the practices of government. The Green Paper itself includes its own internal summaries – the first chapter is a summary of the whole document, there is a summary of the main points in the last chapter, the Prime Minister's Foreword incorporates his summary. Then the press release constitutes a summary oriented to media uptake, and the document is summarized over and over again in speeches and so forth. We might say that it is through summarizing that media 'spin' is added. But as I shall show with this example differences in summaries and in 'spin' are also significant in the negotiation and contestation of political differences *within* the Government. Summarizing is a form of representation and is linked to the question of discourses – the different summaries referred to above involve differences in discourses.

6.2. Recontextualization

- 34 Summarizing within genre chains is also a matter of recontextualization. The press release is a practice and genre which here recontextualizes according to its own particular logic two other practices and genres, a press conference held by Frank Field to launch the Green paper, and the Green Paper itself, as well as Blair's Foreword as a distinct genre or perhaps sub-genre. Recontextualization draws attention to links between genres and dis-courses, because the transformations between genres in a genre chain include transformations in discourses. This suggests ways of analysing texts which treat representation – and discourses – as an ongoing process linked to the dynamics of forms of social activity which appear in the form of genre chains. A sort of 'process' view of representation. Further categories of Bernstein's are useful here: the categories of 'framing' and 'classification'. I'll also use categories of Laclau and Mouffe's

(Laclau & Mouffe 1988). What I want to do here is illustrate part of a 'trans-disciplinary' way of working – enriching text-analytical categories like 'genre' and 'discourse' by linking them to sociological or political categories.

6.3. Genre and framing

- 35 'Framing' is a matter of control. Framing is either 'strong' (where control is one-sided) or 'weak' (where control is shared). Chouliaraki (1998) suggested that it is productive to think of genres as devices for framing, ie as communicative means for controlling activity. We can think of individual genres in this way, and genre chains. In the case welfare reform, I would say the chaining of genres constitutes a strong 'framing', one-sided control and management by the Government of the reform process and of achieving political consent. I analysed the Green paper itself in these terms as a strongly framed promotional genre in my 2000 paper.

6.4. Discourse and classification

- 36 Bourdieu (1991) suggests seeing different discourses as different visions of aspects of the world which are also different divisions – different classifications. Bernstein's approach suggests that genres as framing devices are forms of control while discourses as classification devices are forms of power. We can link this view of discourses to what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence'. Discourses classify people, things, places, events etc. Classification can also be strong or weak (Bernstein 1990) according to the sort of boundaries or 'insulations' that are set up within and between discourses – eg entities – such Government and people as receivers of welfare in the case of welfare reform – may be sharply or loosely divided, strongly or weakly insulated from each other. So in the Green Paper,
- 37 the agent of actions is nearly always the Government, and welfare recipients and claimants are nearly always Goals or Beneficiaries of actions. The Government acts, claimants are acted upon.

6.5. Equivalence and difference

- 38 If we use Bernstein's categories of framing and classification to think about genre and discourse, we can analyse genre chains within the welfare reform process as simultaneously regulating the process and representing relevant aspects of the world – producing a vision through division. Categories suggested by Laclau & Mouffe (1988) are helpful in analysing representation as a process within the genre chains of welfare reform.
- 39 They theorize politics in terms of the simultaneous working of two different 'logics': a logic of 'difference' which creates differences and divisions, and a logic of 'equivalence' which subverts existing differences and divisions through combining them. My suggestion is that this can be applied specifically to texts – elements (words, phrases etc) are constantly being combined and divided in texts, prior combinations and separations are constantly being changed or subverted. This is how texts figure in the social process of classification. And by looking at this across genre chains, we can see the integration of discourses with genres.

- 40 Let's come back to the press release. The headline and lead give a summary of the Green Paper and press conference which is elaborated in the rest of the 'report'. I take the lead to include the first three paragraphs – ie sections separated by spaces. In terms of discourse and classification, the headline and lead are selective with respect to the Green Paper – they selectively focus on certain aspects of the vision of the 'reformed' world of welfare in the Green Paper: the reform as a 'contract', 'promoting opportunity instead of dependence', 'work for those who can, security for those who can't'. This selective focus constitutes the 'spin'. There is internal evidence in the press release of the selectivity of the focus – compare the eight 'principles' with the rest of the report. The construction of welfare as a 'contract' is not included in the 'principles', and in fact is not prominent in the Green Paper until chapter 11, which deals with the long-term future rather than the immediate reform – though it is also in the title of the Green Paper (which is maybe itself a case of 'spin'). The section selected in the press release from Blair's *Foreword* is the last four paragraphs – which are the only ones in which he refers to the new welfare 'contract'. This focus is therefore a significant one, and it had an effect on media coverage of the Green Paper – several national newspapers for instance reproduced a table in chapter 11 summarizing the vision of a 'new welfare contract' for 2020, without explaining that this was the long-term vision rather than immediate reforms.
- 41 Let me come to division and combination – the logics of difference and equivalence. The second paragraph of the lead incorporates two divisions taken from the Green Paper – 'opportunity instead of dependence', and 'work for those who can, and security for those who can't'. The second is a double division: the division between those who work and those who can't is mapped onto the division between 'work' and 'security', restricting by implication the social security offered by the welfare system to those who are unable to work. These divisions condense important features of the New Labour welfare 'reform': an acceptance of the New Right view of welfare as morally objectionable in promoting 'welfare dependency', the commitment to 'equality of opportunity' as an alternative to 'welfare dependency', shifting the focus of welfare towards getting people off welfare and into work. This gives the division between 'those who can work and those who can't' primacy over the division between 'those who have work and those who haven't', which was the primary division for 'old' Labour.
- 42 There is internal evidence in the press release of differences of position and focus between Field and Blair: Field takes a more ethical stance towards welfare reform, Blair sees it more in terms of a contract.
- 43 For example, the divisions I've just referred to are repeated but also *elaborated* in the quotations from Frank Field. The first paragraph of those quotations – under 'Mr Field said' – repeats 'work for those who can; security for those who cannot', but also adds a new division between 'a cycle of dependency and insecurity' and 'an ethic of work and savings'. This particular division is Field's: it is his own 'spin', a creative elaboration, representation in process. It is combination as well as division: 'dependency' combined with 'insecurity', 'work' with 'savings'. The division is again a double one one – 'dependency and insecurity' as against 'work and savings', but also 'cycle' as against 'ethic' – which seems somewhat incoherent.
- 44 Field's specific position and difference from others within New Labour is evident both in the foregrounding of the ethical aspect of welfare 'reform' – which is present in the

Green Paper, but marginal – and more subtly in the rewording of ‘dependence’ as ‘dependency’, which is a more direct evocation of New Right ideas of ‘welfare dependency’ and again foregrounds the ethical dimension. The two instances of ‘genuine’ in the second and third quotations from Field (paragraphs 3 and 4 in the original) also accentuate the moral dimension, and also show that division can be covert – ‘those in genuine need’ are covertly set off from those not in genuine need (those whose claimed needs are not genuine). The old ethical division between the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor is echoed here.

- 45 At the same time, the division between those who can and those who cannot work is elaborated and developed into a division between ‘people who want to work’ and ‘those who cannot work’, and ‘those of working age’ and ‘those in genuine need who can’t work’. The first of these hybridizes two divisions, ‘can/cannot’ and ‘want to/don’t want to’, formulating the shift in New Labour thinking from seeing work as an option for the disabled to expecting those who are able to work to do so. The second example generalizes the category of those who can work to those of working age – the message is that if you are of working age you work unless you are too severely disabled to do so, a message which is underscored by the combination of ‘work’ and ‘welfare’ which subverts the division between them – ‘work is the best form of welfare’.
- 46 So, the vision of welfare which is summarized in the divisions of paragraph two of the lead is further worked up through the divisions and combinations in the quotations from Field. This is a localized instance of what I suggested in my book *New Labour, New Language?: the politics of New Labour, the ‘Third Way’*, is constantly in process as its elements are worked and reworked together in texts – in this case for instance in a way which foregrounds ethical and moral aspects of welfare ‘reform’. The process of working up the discourse takes places according to the logic of the genre, involving in this case a movement from summarizing gist in the headlines and lead, to repetition and elaboration in the rest of the ‘report’.
- 47 The ethical focus is Field’s rather than Blair’s – which does not mean that it is absent from Blair’s political discourse, just that it is not worked into the same salience. Conversely, it is the Blair quotations which elaborate the construction of welfare as a ‘contract’ – though again it is also part of Field’s political discourse. In the first paragraph of the Blair quotations – under ‘In the foreword to the Green paper the Prime Minister said’ – there is a three- -way division which sets the ‘third way’ against ‘dismantling welfare’ and ‘keeping it unreformed’, and formulates the ‘third way’ as a ‘new contract between citizen and state’.
- 48 Blair uses a marked form of combination which is pervasive in New Labour discourse – the ‘but also’ relation: combinations which can paraphrased with ‘x but also y’ (or ‘not only x but also y’). The example here is: ‘we keep a welfare state from which we all benefit, but on terms which are fair and clear’ (‘but we also make the terms fair and clear’). Other instances of the ‘but also’ relation are: ‘... the vast majority of us benefit... But we all contribute...’, ‘We benefit but we pay’, ‘fair not just for the existing generation, but fair between generations’. The pervasiveness of the ‘but also’ relation in New Labour is a part of the politics of the ‘Third Way’ – the ‘Third Way’ is all about transcending divisions, reconciling what had been seen as unreconcilable, combining themes from the ‘old’ left and ‘new right’. There is a very prominent New Labour ‘but also’ relation which is alluded to here and most directly formulated in the lead as ‘reciprocal duties between government and the individual’ – it commonly appears as

'rights and responsibilities'. By developing the focus on 'contract' through the 'but also' relation, Blair is linking it to the core logic of the politics of the 'Third Way'. Also, by combining universality ('we all benefit') with the everyday concept of 'fairness', and constructing the contract as a 'fair deal', Blair connects the 'reform' with everyday values and criticisms of the existing system (in terms of 'unfair' abuses of it). This everyday and one might say populist construction stands in contrast with the austere, theoretical, and moral construction of the lead: 'reciprocal duties between government and the individual' – one might see this as part of a difference in style between Field and Blair.

7. Conclusions

- 49 I began by indicating the potential value of critical discourse analysis for media analysis in a particular way: suggesting that 'mediation' is an instance of the CDA category of 'recontextualization'. Texts in other fields such as politics are recontextualized in media texts, media texts are recontextualized in texts in other fields and spheres. Recontextualization entails transformations of texts and meanings in accordance with the 'recontextualizing principles' of media and other fields.
- 50 I then gave a summary outline of a version of CDA in which 'recontextualization' was located in relation to other CDA categories including 'genre' and 'interdiscursivity'.
- 51 I suggested that recontextualization in the particular form of mediation is managed or regulated not on by the media but also by Government. And I suggested that in the case of New Labour we need to look at this process of management in the context of New Labour's commitment to 'reinvent' or 'modernize' government and governance; and that this provides a way of understanding New Labour's widely recognized and criticized tendency towards accentuated forms of 'media spin'.
- 52 I made some more specific observations about New Labour's project of 'reinventing government', and suggested how media management and 'media spin' are located within that process, also drawing upon Stuart Hall's discussion of 'media spin' as a crucial element of what he calls New Labour's 'double shuffle'. I also suggested that shifts in the field of government associated with the 'reinvention' of government are shifts in the order of dis-course of government – in genres, discourses and styles.
- 53 My illustration focused upon New Labour's reform of welfare, and specifically the Green Paper of 1998, and more specifically still the press release on the occasion of its publication.
- 54 I suggested that one useful analytical focus in analyzing the 'reinvention of government' is on how governmental practices are linked or 'chained' together in governmental procedures. I suggested that the CDA category of 'genre chain' is helpful in this sort of analysis, and schematically identified elements of the genre chains associated with welfare reform, including press releases.
- 55 I suggested that the press release is an interdiscursively hybrid 'boundary' genre whose hybridity is consequent upon its position within the genre chain.
- 56 I emphasized the importance of summarizing, both within genres and in the relations of recontextualization between genres in genre chains. Summarizing characteristically introduces changes in representation and dis-courses, and looking at such changes across genres in genre chains allows us to link analysis of genres and analysis of

discourses, and to see representation as a process within complex activities which can be analyzed as genre chains.

- 57 In developing this point I illustrated aspects of a transdisciplinary way of working, showing how Bourdieu's idea of discourses as visions produced through *division*, Bernstein's categories of 'framing' and 'classification' and Laclau & Mouffe's logics of 'equivalence' and 'difference', can help to elucidate transformations of representation and discourses within genre chains, and particularly the process of media 'spinning'.
- 58 With respect to classification and discourses, I suggested that the recontextualization of the Green Paper in the press release focuses selectively on certain aspects of the Green Paper's representation of welfare reform, for instance accentuating its representation as a new 'contract' in the headline and lead.
- 59 Most of my comments were on equivalence and difference, or combination and division, and especially divisions and contrasts. Certain divisions prominent in the Green paper were repeated in the press release. But there were differences between the two New Labour leaders quoted, Field and Blair. The press release is characterized by Field's ethical 'spin' of the welfare reform, which can partly be identified through analysis of his elaboration of the Green paper with divisions and combinations of his own. Thus focusing on combination and division is one analytical resource for identifying media 'spin'.
- 60 My final point was the presence in the quotations from Blair of a form of combination which is a marked feature of New labour discourse – the 'bit also' relation.

8. APPENDIX – PRESS RELEASE FOR THE GREEN PAPER ON WELFARE REFORM

- 61 **FRANK FIELD LAUNCHES NEW CONTRACT FOR WELFARE** Date: 26 March 1998 Ref: 98/077
- 62 Frank Field, Minister for Welfare Reform, today unveiled the Government's Green Paper on Welfare Reform «New Ambitions for Our Country – A New Contract for Welfare».
- 63 Mr Field said the Government's programme for welfare reform would promote opportunity instead of dependence, and would be based on work for those who can, and security for those who can't.
- 64 The Green Paper, for the first time, sets out a series of success measures to be achieved over the next 10-20 years. It presents a new welfare con-tract, based on reciprocal duties between government and the individual.
- 65 The Green Paper sets out eight key principles guiding welfare reform:
- The new welfare state should help and encourage people of working age to work where they are capable of doing so.
 - The public and private sectors should work in partnership to ensure that wherever possible, people are insured against foreseeable risks, and make provision for their retirement.
 - The new welfare state should provide public services of high quality to the whole community, as well as cash benefits.
 - Those who are disabled should get the support they need to lead a fulfilling life with dignity.

- The system should support families and children as well as tackling the scourge of child poverty.
- There should be specific action to tackle social exclusion and help those in poverty.
- The system should encourage openness and honesty and the gateways to benefit should be clear and enforceable.
- The system of delivering modern welfare should be flexible, efficient and easy for people to use.

66 Mr Field said:

«This Green Paper has a central aim: work for those who can; security for those who cannot. We want to replace a cycle of dependency and insecurity with an ethic of work and savings.

The document builds on the #3.5 billion New Deal for the young and long term unemployed and the Budget that made work pay, raised Child Benefit and put quality childcare within reach of all families. At the same time we are modernising and putting money into schools and hospitals and will soon have the first ever national minimum wage to help the low paid. The arguments for reform are clear, society has changed and the state has not kept pace with it. As such, spending on Social Security has doubled yet more people live in poverty and insecurity. The Green Paper offers pensioners a decent income in retirement and a new beginning for disabled people. Those disabled people who want to work will get help to do so, while those who cannot work will get genuine support. Work is the best form of Welfare. To those of working age we offer greater help to get into work, and a modern system to provide help for those in genuine need who can't work.»

67 In a foreword to the Green Paper, the Prime Minister said:

«We must return to first principles and ask what we want the welfare state to achieve. This is the question this Green Paper seeks to answer. In essence, it describes a third way: not dismantling welfare, leaving it simply as a low-grade safety net for the destitute; nor keeping it unreformed and under performing; but reforming on the basis of a new contract between citizen and state, where we keep a welfare state from which we all benefit, but on terms that are fair and clear. There is a very simple reason why we need such a contract more than ever today. The welfare state we have is one from which the vast majority of us benefit through a state pension or Child Benefit or use of the NHS. The welfare state isn't just about a few benefits paid to the most needy. But we all contribute through taxes and charges. We benefit but we pay. It is a contract between us as citizens. As such, it needs to be a fair deal, within a system that is clearer, more relevant for the modern world, efficiently run and where costs are manageable. One that is fair not just for the existing generation, but fair between the generations. That is the fundamental reason for reform. It will take time. Frank Field has started the process in this Green Paper. Now that the process is underway, we want all the nation to be part of it. There will be consultation and time for discussion at every stage. Our objective is to build a genuine national consensus behind change. The welfare state belongs to us all. It is part of our inheritance. We must now all work together to rebuild it for the new century that awaits.»

68 NOTES TO EDITORS

1. The Green paper *New ambitions for our country: A NEW CONTRACT FOR WELFARE* is available from Stationery Office bookshops. It is also available in Braille, audio cassette and in Welsh (Cmd 3805, price £11.50).
1. A summary version of the Green paper has also been produced and is available free of charge from the following address:
Welfare Reform
Freepost (HA4441)

Hayes UB3 1BR
 Tel: 0181 867 3201
 Fax: 0181 867 3264

69 The lines are open Monday to Friday from 9am-5pm.

1. Consultation

70 Feedback on the content of the Green Paper should be addressed to:

71 The Welfare Reform Green Paper Consultation Team
 Department of Social Security
 7th Floor, The Adelphi
 1-11 John Adam Street
 London WC2 6HT

72 People are also invited to respond using the following email address:
 welfarereform@ade001.dss.gov.uk

73 Comments should reach DSS by 31 July 1998.

74 Press enquiries: 0171 238 0866
 (Out of hours: 0171 238 0761)
 Public enquiries: 01717 712 2171
 Internet Address: <http://www.dss.gov.uk>

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